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# INDIANS

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## AT WORK

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MARCH - 1933

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# I N D I A N S    A T    W O R K

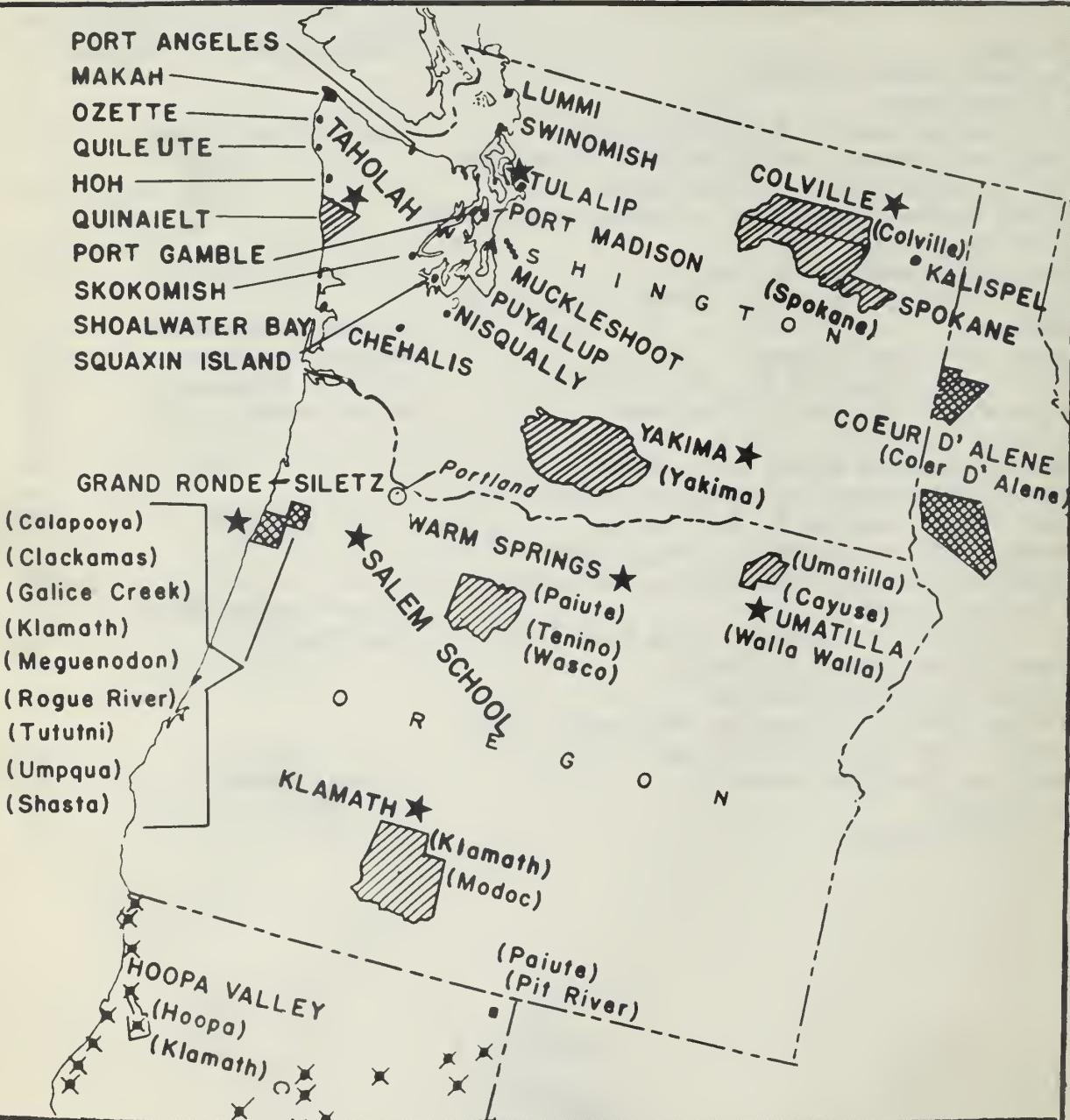
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THE INDIAN NORTHWEST



# • INDIANS • AT WORK

A News Sheet for INDIANS and the INDIAN SERVICE

VOLUME VI • • MARCH 1939 • • NUMBER 7

Through a rehabilitation grant of \$305,000, President Roosevelt has insured the fulfillment of an Indian welfare effort which seemed but a faint hope ten years ago. The story of that effort is worth telling.

Chapter One finds the Paiute Indians of Owens Valley landless in their ancestral home. This chapter ends with their location on barren acres in the valley. They subsisted through wage work for ranchers owning irrigated acres.

Chapter Two is the reaching-out of the City of Los Angeles for a water-supply originating nearly three hundred miles to the north. All the water-rights - or practically all - in Owens Valley were bought, too. Agriculture died. Under the snow-peaks of the Mount Whitney range, alfalfa fields and sunflowers and the long aisles of cottonwood trees withered and died. With agriculture dead, wage work ceased, but the Indians refused to go away.

Chapter Three is an incident in the life of John R. Haynes, who died in the harness of public work and on the battle-front of democracy, in his 84th year, a year ago. Dr. Haynes largely had created the municipal system of water and power of Los Angeles - the largest municipal ownership and operation project in America handling both water and power. Dr. Haynes served as President of the Water and Power Board of Los Angeles.

Dr. Haynes also was a pioneer in the cause of Indian rights.

Los Angeles had destroyed the support of the Owens Valley Indians. It had taken nothing from them directly, and there existed no legal claim

against the city and no legal obligation on the city to do anything at all. A human obligation did exist. How could Los Angeles meet it?

Chapter Three brought the answer. The barren lands of the Paiutes would be accepted by Los Angeles in exchange for consolidated bodies of irrigable land belonging to the city, and free delivery thereto of irrigation water already Indian-owned would be pledged for all time to come. This arrangement meant, in effect, an exchange of values mutually advantageous to Los Angeles and the Indians.

Dr. Haynes laid the proposal before his Board. The Board adopted it, then Congress legislated the surrender of the barren land, and finally, the City Council of Los Angeles by formal ordinance approved the action. So the Indians will be vested with land as fertile as exists in the irrigated west.

There remained the task of housing and rehabilitating the 147 Paiute families upon this rich land. Thanks to the Farm Security Administration and the President, that final chapter can now be written. The Owens Valley project will be the largest single, locally-centered one among the Indian rehabilitation projects as yet carried out.

The case has a twofold interest to Indian Service, aside from its human interest.

First it shows that consecutive, inventive effort through years can accomplish results that seem very unlikely at the start. The efforts in this case (within the Service) were principally those of James M. Stewart, Director of Lands; Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Jurisdiction; and the Indian Rehabilitation staff at Washington.

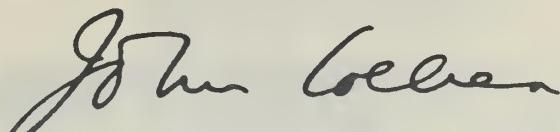
But second, the Owens Valley result will not have been procured through Federal Government effort alone. Indeed, it could not have been thus procured. Los Angeles did a splendid thing, and furnished an example to other cities and states, in accepting a human obligation which had no legal basis.

I visited Dr. John R. Haynes a very short time before his death in the fullness of his years. He wanted a full report on the Owens Valley Paiute effort and I gave it to him. The completed project will rightly bear his name.

\* \* \* \* \*

The San Francisco Worlds' Fair has opened. Possibly a majority of the workers in the Indian Service will have visited San Francisco before the Fair closes. They will find the most resourcefully devised Indian exhibit ever brought together. The living Indian and his handiwork will be seen against the background of his present life and against his historical background. A great market, financed and controlled by the Indians, will offer the best of Indian arts and crafts from all the United States and Alaska. The manager of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Rene d'Harnoncourt, is manager of the Indian

exposition. The \$50,000 supplied from the Federal appropriation for the Fair represents hardly more than one quarter of the money or its equivalent in contributed materials and services that have gone into the Indian display.



Commissioner of Indian Affairs

\* \* \* \* \*

WASHINGTON OFFICE VISITORS

Recent visitors to the Washington Office have included the following: Sophie D. Aberle, Superintendent, United Pueblos Agency in New Mexico; Carl W. Beck, Superintendent, Western Shoshone Agency in Nevada; J. C. Cavill, Superintendent, Great Lakes Agency in Wisconsin; William Donner, Superintendent, Fort Apache Agency in Arizona; Peru Farver, Superintendent, Tomah Agency in Wisconsin; Claude M. Hirst, General Superintendent of Alaska; Herman W. Johannes, Manager, Menominee Mills in Wisconsin; Henry Roe Cloud, Supervisor of Education, Kansas; Forrest R. Stone, Superintendent, Wind River Agency in Wyoming; and Earl Wooldridge, Superintendent, Grand Ronde-Siletz Agency in Oregon.

The following delegations also visited Washington recently: Fort Apache - Roe Clark, Lawrence Johnson, Purcell Kane, Nelson Lupe, Lester Oliver, and Silas Tenijieith. Menominee Mills - Gordon D. Dickie, Al Dodge and James G. Frechette. Wind River - Pete Arayou, John L. Boyd, Gilbert Day, Charles A. Dickell, Robert Friday, Bruce Groesbeck, Lonnie McAdams, Samuel Nipwater, Jerome Oldman, Nellie F. Scott, Cyrus Shongotsee, Charlie Washakie and Marshall Washakie.

## THE SILVER HORDE

### The Salmon Industry And Indians In The Northwest



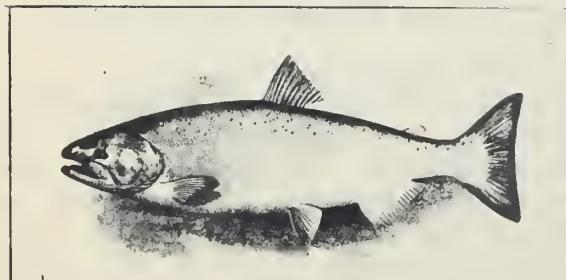
Salmon Jumping Falls

Silver jangles in the tellers' troughs of banks from Sacramento to Nome, and silver flashes in the fast running streams from the Eel River to the Island of Sakhalin. In the waters under the shadows of the Douglas firs and ponderosa pine, billions of Pacific salmon run - swim twisting, jumping, buffeting - unerringly up out of the salt sea, over the rocks, falls, and fish ladders, to the calm, limpid fresh-water tributaries where they will spawn, just once, and die.

Going foodless in their mad rush up the falls and raging rapids, their

quivering bodies are driven by some mysterious homing instinct to their spawning beds. There, their protective mucous coats shattered, they die of the wounds and bruises of their break-neck dash through sometimes two thousand miles of angry, foaming water and surging counter-currents. But before they die they reproduce, and every year the fingerlings swim back down to the sea to replenish the waters of the earth.

This annual parade of churning, flying fins, pulsing gills and gleaming scales not only replenishes the water of the earth; it replenishes the stomachs and pocketbooks of men of four nations on two sides of the world's greatest ocean. The salmon fishing industry, exceeded only by herring and oysters, is the third largest fishing enterprise in the world. In 1928 there



Chinook Salmon



Coho Salmon

were over 10,500,000 cases of salmon packed in the world. The United States' share of this industry was valued at \$54,683,143.

In the Pacific Northwest of the continental United States the salmon pack reached a value of \$9,254,258. In Alaska salmon is the biggest industry. It represents 52.1 per cent of all industrial activity there. In 1937 the largest salmon pack in the history of the Territory accounted for shipments valued at \$45,386,512.

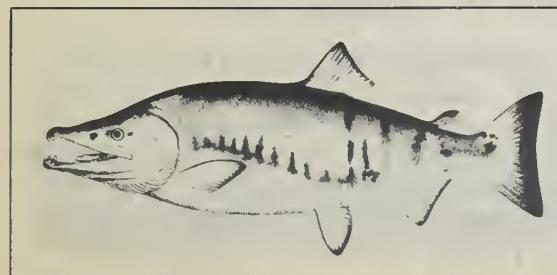
In the Pacific Ocean there are five species of salmon. The largest is the chinook, or king salmon, sometimes weighing up to 70 and even over 100 pounds. Next comes the sockeye, or blueback salmon. The coho, or silver salmon is followed in order by the chum, or keta salmon. The smallest of all the salmon is the pink, or humpback variety, weighing about four pounds. In addition to these five, the steelhead trout is classed as a salmon by fishermen on the Pacific coast. For the most part, the flesh of all species is pink, but king salmon, particularly in Puget Sound, have been caught whose meat is mottled or white. The flesh of the chum salmon turns from coral pink to pale yellow in the canning and cooking process.

Each kind of salmon has its definite locale and time of run. Each has its definite life cycle, which ranges from two to eight years. This period, of great commercial importance, has been discovered both by planting the fry and by a study of scale ridges. Unlike the Atlantic salmon, the Pacific fish all die after spawning. They do not eat in fresh water and, once having spawned, the lean hungry fish become sluggish and scrofulous and soon die. While times of run vary, they all more or less fall between late spring and fall, although some salmons run during the winter months.

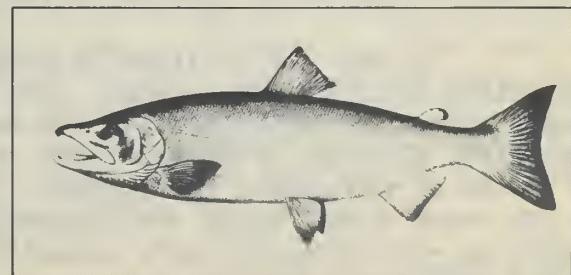
From pre-Columbian times the Indians of the Pacific coast have caught the salmon, have eaten them, cured them and bartered them. So important was the preservation of the salmon fisheries to the coast Indians, that in practically every treaty drawn up between them and the United States Government



Spearing Salmon From Scaffolds -  
Columbia River



Chum Salmon



Sockeye Salmon



#### Centers Of Indian Salmon Fishing In The Northwest

of human lives. Once caught in the rapids it is a lucky fisherman who is ever seen again, let alone rescued.

After the treaty of 1855, many of the Indians along the Columbia River and its tributaries were removed to the Warm Springs Reservation. Yet every year they return to the river, now more often with steel nets than with the baskets of other years, to set their scaffolds for the royal chinooks which come shooting up-current in early July. Once an entirely Indian industry, the past half century has seen the great boom in Columbia River salmon fishing, with the Indians still playing an important part in it.

In 1887 the railroad to Puget Sound opened up new markets and gave the salmon industry new impetus. The demand for canned goods created by the Spanish-American War helped put the early Pacific canneries over the top. The canneries, although often importing cheap Oriental labor, provided an additional source of employment for Indians. The first canneries could turn out 150 to 200 cases a day, using the minimum amount of machinery. A modern cannery, toolled up with "Iron Chinks", unloading scows, rotary cutters, labeling machines and steam ovens can produce up to 4,000 cases a day.

some provision was included to reserve to them the right to fish at their usual and accustomed places. Many of these important provisions exist to the present day.

Many Northwest Indians, such as the Warm Springs group in Oregon, have from time out of mind built their platforms, strung their nets or poised their spears and fished for salmon in the Columbia River - the river which has produced more salmon than any other river in the world - from Kettle Falls to its mouth. Upon the salmon taken from the turbulent pools and eddies in the heavy dip nets depended much of the food supply of the thousands of Wascoe, Dalle and Walla Walla Indians. These Indians consumed the salmon fresh and also pulverized dried and smoked salmon into pemmican which was bartered with inland tribes.

The common Columbia River practice of dip net fishing is back-breaking and dangerous work. Every year, where the river is angriest, as at the Dalles, it exacts its toll

The development of this industry has meant that at least seventy per cent of the 220 families on the Warm Springs Reservation alone secure and store salmon for winter use. In addition to the subsistence value of the salmon catch, about thirty heads of families gain an income of about \$40,000 annually from fishing commercially. At Grand Ronde-Siletz another twenty-five Indian families catch fish from the Columbia for this industry which supplies a world demand.

Indians from the Colville jurisdiction, and a few from Spokane, also fish in the Columbia River. These

Indians join Indian groups from the Yakima, Warm Springs and Umatilla Agencies. In 1935 the Celilo Fish Committee was set up by the Indians. It is composed of members from the Yakima, Warm Springs, and Umatilla Districts. The chairman of this committee is the patriarch Thomas Thomas who is a sort of arbiter in whatever fishing disputes arise at Celilo. At Speedis, on the Washington side of the Columbia, a similar but smaller committee functions perhaps more successfully due to the greater support of the Indians fishing there.

In a notification of February 1, 1939, the Indian allotments along the river from Roosevelt to White River were placed by the Indian Office under the Yakima Jurisdiction. Yakima fishermen are in the predominance in this area, which has been under the Umatilla Agency since 1924. This area is of particular interest because at Celilo the Indians are making strides to regulate their own industry and to work out with Indian Service officials the many settlements of problems which arise in the fishing and marketing of salmon.



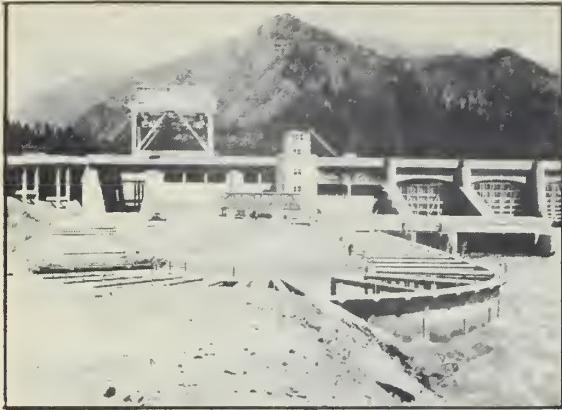
Using Purse-Seine To Catch Salmon On Puget Sound.



Indian Fishing With Dip Net

In all, it is estimated that the Indian fishing population along the Columbia varies from 500 to 1,500, whose earnings vary from \$1,000 to \$1,500 per person, per season. Some 3,000 Indians obtain their winter food supply from the Columbia salmon catch.

Salmon are always anadromous, that is, they ascend the rivers



Fish Ladder At Bonneville To  
Allow Salmon To Reach  
Spawning Beds



Bureau Of Fisheries Salmon  
Hatchery Where Salmon Fry  
Are Cultivated

to breed at definite seasons. When streams, such as the Umatilla River, are dammed, preventing the salmon from returning to spawn, the fish abandon the stream. A handicap to the Indians in the Columbia River area is the fact that, while the Indians fish upstream with dip nets, some white fishermen using great circular purse-seines and gill nets at the mouth of the river often materially impair the runs of salmon. This is not only hard on the Indians when carried on on too large a scale, but, by cutting down the number of fish penetrating the headwaters, the salmon runs of the future are endangered.

Such practices have not only had serious effects on the Indian fisheries, but on the entire salmon industry. For example, in British Columbia, the Fraser River run of sockeye salmon in 1913 packed 2,401,488 cases. In 1927 this figure had dropped to 158,987. The runs, even in the "big four" years, had fallen off about 90 per cent! On the Columbia there has never been a run to equal that of 1884, when 620,000 cases of chinook salmon were marketed.

To prevent the extinction of the salmon, Canada and the United States joined forces as early as 1917 in regulating the industry to insure a sufficient proportion of the fish getting through. The catching of immature salmon (i.e. before their time of run) was limited. Laws were passed against the pollution of streams where the salmon spawn. The blocking of streams was discountenanced. Hatcheries were erected. Systems of fishing licensure were inaugurated. In Washington and Oregon the state legislatures began programs incorporating regulations of this type. In Alaska the regulation and supervision of the salmon industry were undertaken by the Bureau of Fisheries of the Federal Government. Many adjustments on the part of the Indians to state game and fish laws have had to be made in the course of the evolution of the state conservation programs. Not all of these have been welcomed by the Indians. Many Indians have claimed that in various ways their traditional and guaranteed rights have been usurped. On the reservations, however, where state law does not apply to the Indians, they have adopted their own fishing regulations to observe the spirit of conservation of the salmon runs.

One example of such self-imposed regulation is furnished by the Quinaielt Indians of Taholah Agency in Washington. Their manner of cooperation in preserving the salmon runs is formulated by the business committee of the tribal council. In April and June, or sometimes as early as December, they fish for a special variety of very red sockeye salmon called "Quinaielt" salmon. During the run the Indians have ruled that they must "lift" - completely take out of the water - their gill nets which hold fish of

a given size attempting to swim through just behind the lateral fin. These nets are removed from Saturday night to Monday morning in order to conserve the fish. These Indians had a curious belief that if anyone ate the heart of a salmon, the run would stop. For this reason, in the early days the Indians did not want the whites to make use of fishing grounds in their area.

From these salmon the Indians received a gross income of about \$69,000 last season. In the fall there is a smaller run of chum salmon and king salmon which brought the Indians about \$12,000. The total catch probably came close to \$100,000 for 1938. In 1915 this income was estimated at only slightly over \$80,000. Indians fish in lesser amounts in the Chehalis, Hoh, and Nisqually Rivers, but there is no way of estimating the values of these catches. The fifty Indians of the Makah Reservation at Cape Flattery under the Taholah Agency obtained over \$15,000 from their fishing enterprises.

A conservation practice similar to that at Quinaielt is maintained at Hoopa Valley in California, where silver and steelhead salmon supply the Indians with half of their meat supply throughout the year. Every summer a dam is built across the Trinity River which is closed for forty-eight hours and then opened for forty-eight hours to insure the salmon getting through during the peak run. At Hoopa Valley the Indians in recent years have maintained a community canning plant where the salmon which is not smoked or dried can be put up.

On Puget Sound Indian fishermen maintain an immemorial tradition of salmon fishing. At Lummi, Swinomish and Tulalip the Indians use six types of equipment to catch the king and coho salmon. All matters pertaining to their manner of fishing fall under the administration of the fisheries committees of the tribal councils. The management of their financial affairs is conducted on their behalf by the Disbursing Officer of the Tulalip Indian Agency. The Indians use reef nets, gill nets and troll from small power or row boats. At Swinomish, where the salmon industry furnishes a quarter of the population with commercial employment, the entire community is benefited by the community fishing and canning operations. Few families live any large part of the year without the salmon industry contributing materially to their subsistence.



Indians Fishing Below Celilo Falls

Trolling operations, and particularly the operation of purse-seines, are regulated in order not to catch too many of the salmon before their spawning time. Despite former beliefs as to the ocean home of the salmon, it is fairly certain that they spend the greater part of their life-span in bays, straits and other coastal waters. It is often only possible to line troll for salmon in salt water as once in fresh water, the salmon will not feed readily. They must be caught in their rush up the rivers.

In Alaska, at Metlakatla and on Annette Island, the Tsimshian Indians own their own cannery. This cannery is privately leased, but 75 per cent of the profits, totaling as much as \$110,000 has accrued in a year to the tribe. In Alaska the Eskimos do little salmon fishing. In Bristol Bay, where the heaviest salmon runs in the world are experienced - where the waters are churned and spangled with the wriggling bodies of the silver horde - all the fishing operations are conducted by white or Japanese fishermen.

As canneries step up their production and new uses for salmon are developed - salmon paste, salmon caviar, oil, fertilizer, goitre preventive - new problems arise every year in the fisheries: questions of rights to certain locations, questions as to methods of catching, questions of price and employment. The Indians of the Pacific Northwest are able and efficient fishermen and play an important role in the great salmon industry. What a survey of the Indians' part in the industry illuminates clearly is that the Indian on his own reservation is able and willing to govern his own role in it. Particularly at Warm Springs, Taholah and Tulalip he is extensively running his own fishing activities.

The catches are being voluntarily curtailed to conserve the runs. The point of view has been clearly adopted by the Indians that if the fish which supported their ancestors are to support their descendants they must be treated as any other great natural resource. One must not take and take until there is no more to take. The salmon beds must not be depleted. The silver horde must not vanish or that other kind of silver which it brings will vanish too.

(Note: All the photographs used in connection with this article, with the exception of those which appear in the upper right-hand corners of pages 2 and 6 of this article, were reproduced through the courtesy of the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries.)



## HOW THE SALMON CAME TO THE COLUMBIA RIVER

A Legend Told By Sarah Miller Walsey, Warm Springs Indian, And  
Submitted Through Courtesy Of Patrick Gray, Logging Engineer.

Many years ago the swallows, who were people, had a lake below the Cascades, not far from the Columbia River. There were a lot of fish in the lake, but there were no fish in the river. The swallows were in charge of the lake.

The coyote (Cul-ya), traveling from place to place, came to this lake and saw that there were a lot of salmon in the lake - Chinooks, Bluebacks and other kinds - but saw also that the swallows were in charge of the lake. They could catch any kind of salmon they wanted to cook and eat. The coyote looked around to see if there were not some way that he could get the fish into the river. He looked around the lake and finally found a place where the lake was not far from the river.

The next thing he had to do was to get into the homes of the people in some manner, which he could not do as a coyote. He transformed himself into a piece of bark which floated down very nicely, but the people did not try to get the piece of bark. He transformed himself into several different things, but with no success. The fifth time, after thinking quite a while, he transformed himself into a little baby in a cradle; then he floated down to where the people lived. Four or five girls saw the baby, picked it up, and took it home.

The girls were busy every day, digging roots, and had to leave the baby at the house. Of course, they would put it in the cradle, but as soon as they were gone, the baby (or coyote) would take the strings out of the cradle and jump out. He would catch all the fish he wanted and would roast the fish and eat them. Every day when the girls were gone, the coyote worked at digging a trench from the lake to the river. On the fifth day, when one of the girls was digging roots with a piece of oak, the piece of oak broke, and they knew right away that something had happened at home. They hurried home and they came to where the coyote was digging his trench. He covered himself with five large shells so that when they tried to hit him, they did not hurt him. He kept on digging until he finished the trench and the water and the fish flowed from the lake to the Columbia River - Chinooks, Bluebacks, eels, sturgeon and other kinds.

I do not know that there ever would have been fish in the Columbia River if the coyote had not done this.



PELAGIC SEAL HUNTING AS CARRIED ON BY THE  
MAKAH AND QUILEUTE INDIANS OF WASHINGTON\*



On Lookout For Seal



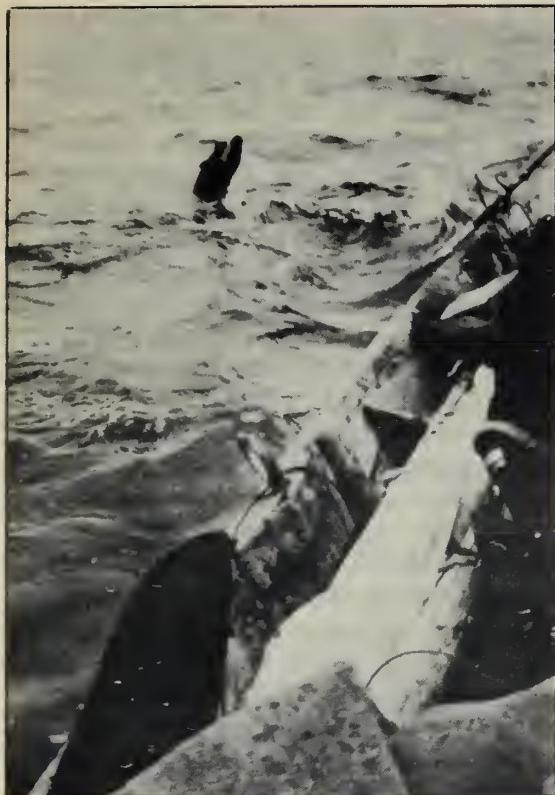
Spearman Poised For Throw

From time immemorial the Quileute and Makah Indians of Washington, have been engaged in pelagic, or ocean surface, sealing. Before the advent of the white man these Indians used the skins so obtained for mats and bed coverings and for trading with the West coast and other Indians. Because of the comparatively mild climate and the heavy rainfall in this area - eighty to one hundred and forty inches annually - leather and fur materials were not used for clothing, and these Indians never became adept in tanning skins or making clothing from them.

After the white traders came, these skins were traded for manufactured articles.

The North Pacific Sealing Convention of July 7, 1911, between the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan, recognized the right of certain Indians to engage in pelagic sealing and provided that Indians residing in Washington, Canada and Alaska be permitted to carry on pelagic sealing as set forth in Article IV of that treaty:

\* Credit is due Mr. Paul Broderson and Mr. C. J. Hopkins of Neah Bay, Taholah Agency in Washington for contributing material in connection with this article.



Seal Being Dragged In  
On Harpoon Lines



Clubbing Seal Before Dragging  
It Into The Boat

"It is further agreed that the provisions of this convention shall not apply to Indians, Ainos, Aleuts, or other aborigines dwelling on the coast of the waters mentioned in Article I, who carry on pelagic sealing in canoes not transported by or used in connection with other vessels, and propelled entirely by oars, paddles, or sails, and manned by not more than five persons each, in the way hitherto practiced and without the use of firearms; provided that such aborigines are not in the employment of other persons, or under contract to deliver the skins to any person."

The sealing season begins about the middle of February when the first of the seal herd, on its way north to the Pribilof Islands, appears off James Island and Cape Flattery. It usually lasts until the latter part of May.

#### Taking The Seals

The actual seal catch is a picturesque enterprise.

As only sleeping or resting seals can be approached close enough to spear, either a single one, or one in a small group, isolated from the main herd, is chosen as the victim, so that its struggling will not arouse the entire herd. The Indian handling the canoe with a stern paddle is the



**Skinning The Seal**

paddle - any of these faint sounds, and the seal is aroused and away. The bottom of the canoe is either planed or burned with a blow-torch, so that all splinters which might cause a ripple are removed.

The canoe is slowly paddled until it becomes motionless, and the poised spearman is within about twenty feet of the seal, close enough, for example, to hear distinctly the seal's snoring. The spearman then drives his harpoon at his intended victim with all his strength. The spearhead, if the aim is true, is driven deep into the seal, the handle of the spear drops out and the seal lunges violently at the end of the harpoon line, which is sixty to ninety feet in length. His wild struggling goes on for several minutes, unless a very vital spot has been struck. He is finally dragged close to the canoe, clubbed to death and hauled in. The seal is very dangerous during this struggle and will bite anything; in fact, he will often bite deep gouges in the canoe. The greatest care must be used in handling the struggling animals.

#### Sealing Equipment Made By Indians

Sealing canoes are hewn by the Indians from a single cedar log. They are eighteen to twenty-four feet long on the bottom and about forty to forty-eight inches wide at the gunwales, amidships, to a point at both

captain. His partner with his spear in striking position takes a stance in the high bow of the canoe. These positions are taken at about one hundred yards on the lee side of the intended victim, and the approach from here on is made with extreme caution, as the slightest foreign sound will startle the wary seal. The tick of a clock\*, the click of a camera shutter, the accidental drip of water from the tip of the captain's



**A Canoe Load Of Fifteen Seals  
On Beach At Neah Bay**

\* Many of the Indian hunters and fishermen do not have watches, and in fishing regularly take an alarm clock with them.

the bow and stern, and have a high, slanting prow in order that they may ride the waves smoothly and can be more readily landed on the beach. An average canoe will hold two men and about fifteen seals.

The spear handle is a strong, wooden rod, about one inch in diameter and fifteen feet long. It is forked for about two feet at the end to accommodate two spearheads at once, one about six inches behind the other. Both spearheads are attached to the same harpoon line. They are sharp, pointed weapons, with two large barbs or prongs near the back to keep them locked in the flesh, and have a socket to fit the spear handle. Only one spearhead usually strikes the seal.

Sealing crews are made up of either two or three men who all share equally in the profits. When the larger canoes are used, or when harder rowing is anticipated because of unfavorable weather or tides, the three-man crew is usually used.

#### A Day's Trip

Ideal weather for sealing is sunny and calm, or sunny with a light, westerly wind, which has a tendency to bring the seal herds a little closer to the mainland. It used to be the custom to take large sailing vessels and follow the herds continuously on their migration to the Pribiloff Islands. Now, because this is unlawful the entire trip must be made, as by the primitive Indians, in hand-propelled or sail-propelled canoes. The primitive spear is the only lawful weapon. The hunters leave their homes at Neah Bay and LaPush, rowing their canoes, any time after two o'clock on the chosen morning. At that time of the day a light east wind frequently prevails, of which the Indians take full benefit through sails, originally made of cedar bark, but now of canvas. The herds are usually encountered by mid-forenoon, about fifteen miles west of the tip of Cape Flattery or James Island, but have been found, in small numbers, inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Occasionally, however, it is necessary to go out greater distances, as far as forty miles, to find the seal herds.

As dangerous storms come up within a few hours any day in the early spring, the hunters are sometimes compelled to fight the sea for days, suffering great hardship and exposure. Sometimes they drift many miles up or down the coast, even being picked up by passing coastwise freighters and taken into their first port. Years ago, when Indians hunted the seal more generally than today, several hunters lost their lives, but in recent years, no lives have been lost.

The canoes used by the Indians are small and appear not to afford much protection to the occupants against the dangers of the ocean. They are, however, wonderfully designed for this particular purpose, and the Indians are very adept in handling them; when dangers develop they exhibit almost super-human endurance and resourcefulness on the water. These people have uncanny ability in judging weather conditions. They can, by the appearance of the clouds immediately before and at daybreak, predict with almost unerring accuracy weather conditions which will prevail for that particular day, and they

will refrain from going out when weather conditions do not appear favorable. Normally, they return to their homes during the evening of the same day they leave and generally get the benefit of the light westerly wind that has developed since daybreak.

When the hunters return home they can always depend on plenty of help for the skinning of the seals. The meat and oil of the seal are great delicacies and some is given to those who help with the skinning. The older women often do this job and are very adept at it. A generous layer of fat is left on the inner side of the skin to facilitate better tanning. The Indians do not tan the hides, but salt them and ship them to the furriers, who, for the past several years, have paid only \$4.00 to \$10.00 per hide.

And so continues this pioneer enterprise among the Makah and Quileute Indians, who carry it on in much the same manner as did their forefathers.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### ARTS AND CRAFTS COOPERATIVE AT CARSON AGENCY, NEVADA, HAS A SUCCESSFUL YEAR

The Indian craftsmen's cooperative at Carson Agency at Stewart, Nevada, known as the Wa-Pai-Shone Craftsmen, Inc., is proving to be a most successful venture in stimulating the production and sale of Indian crafts products of the community. According to its financial report for the calendar year 1938, sale of craft articles during the year totaled \$4,030.70, of which amount the Indian producers received \$3,905.97, and at the close of the year the organization had on hand crafts products worth \$2,368.14.

Wa-Pai-Shone Craftsmen, Inc., was organized in December 1935, deriving its name from the tribes most strongly represented in the agency territory: Washoes, Paiutes and Shoshones (Panamint). From its original trading post, operated under the supervision and management of the teachers of the Carson School, the organization has been able to branch out and establish a second trading post which was opened in the late summer of 1938, at Lake Tahoe. Plans are under way for still further expansion and it is hoped that in the near future a third trading post may be established for the crafts of this area, to be located at Boulder Dam.



## TIMBER, THE KLAMATHS' HERITAGE

Based On Material Submitted By George S. Kephart,  
Forest Supervisor, Klamath Agency, Oregon



A 68' Ponderosa Ready  
For Cutting. This Tree  
Was Found To Be Nearly  
500 Years Old.

conservation of which David, their leader of fifty years ago, was already preaching.

This timber is a potential source of cash income which may be derived perpetually by wise management of the forest resources. Subsequent to 1914, with the development of the lumbering industry in the Klamath Basin, there was an inclination to liquidate valuable forest resources rapidly. However, a spirit of conservatism prevailed and the timber was placed on the market only to the extent that funds were needed for industrial development helpful to the Indians. About 1919 a serious beetle infestation made itself manifest on the Klamath Reservation and since that time it has been necessary to market substantial volumes of the timber in order to salvage it before its destruction by the insects. Insofar as possible a policy of sustained-yield forest management has been in effect

One of the richest timber areas on an Indian reservation, and, in fact, in the United States, is the Klamath Indian Reservation in Oregon. When the reservation was created in 1864, it was a vast virgin forest, which, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as early as 1851, consisted of "grounds unfitted for cultivation" whose chief virtue lay in the fact that these grounds, and doubtless their inhabitants, did not "cause annoyance to the whites." The years have brought railways and highways to Klamath, and the commercial value of its twenty-four hundred square miles of priceless timber, glittering lakes, and rich grazing areas has entirely belied the point of view of that early official as to the value of the land being solely as a spot to center unfriendly Indians.

East of the sparkling rims of the Cascades, around the crinkled shores of Klamath Lake, live the inhabitants of the modern reservation - originally Snakes, Klamaths, and Modocs, who have since intermarried with many Indian tribes - Rogue Rivers, Paiutes, Shastas, Pitt Rivers and Mallalas among others. On this million odd acres of relatively dry land, which is 73 per cent tribally held and which reaches up as high as 8,000 feet, stretches the heavy stands of Klamath timber, the key-source of all financial income for the Klamath Tribes, the

on the Klamath Reservation over a considerable period of years and there is little question that a reasonable return on the property can be realized in perpetuity.

Most readers will find little information in the bare statement that 120 million board feet of sawlogs were sold from the Klamath Reservation during the past year; a year of less than normal sales. Their importance is more evident when we say that they brought a cash return of more than a half-million dollars in stumpage payments. By the time these logs were cut, hauled to the mills, sawed into lumber and made ready for the market, more than three million dollars had been invested in them by the purchasers, largely for local labor. Additional money was invested in them locally in the box factories that are a part of most sawmills in this region.

How much lumber does 120 million board feet represent? Just picture in your mind a sidewalk eight feet wide made of boards one inch thick. Imagine such a walk starting at this Agency near the Pacific Coast and extending the 3,000 miles from here to the Interior Building in Washington, D. C. The logs cut from this reservation last year would supply all the boards needed for this walk; a lot of boards, you will admit, if you have ever made that long journey.

Or it may be an easier stretch of the imagination to think of an average five-room frame house. If all the timber cut from this reservation last year had been used in building such houses, and no other timber was used, we would have a neat little collection of ten thousand homes.

To administer wisely this heritage of fine timber is the joint responsibility of the Indian Service and the Klamath Indians.



## COLVILLE - ONE OF THE GREAT FOREST AREAS OF THE NORTHWEST

By Melvin L. Robertson, Senior Forest Ranger



Yellow Pine Timber On The  
Colville Reservation, Washington

million and one-half dollars and returned to the public domain as the Colville National Forest. Still the Colville Reservation was twice the size of Rhode Island. But in 1916 that was further split up. Two hundred twenty-seven thousand and six hundred and sixty acres were set aside as homesteads and fee-patented allotments.

In 1912 agency headquarters were transferred to the center of the reservation near Nespelem, Washington. In 1925 the activities of the Spokane Indians, formerly handled from Wellpinit, were transferred to the Colville jurisdiction. Today there are 4,126 Indians under the Colville jurisdiction.

The present reservation area of 1,385,086 acres is a rugged, hilly land of streams and forests. The topography ranges from sharply rising mountains to wide valleys and plateaus. From its lowest point of 800 feet at the mouth of the Okanogan River the land rises to 6,500 feet on Moses Mountain. The eastern and northern portions of the Colville Reservation are plentifully supplied with running water, but in the southwestern part the water supply is limited to small saline lakes with no visible outlets.

Except for a small portion southwest of Omak Lake and a narrow strip bordering the Columbia River, the Colville Reservation is timbered throughout. The forest is predominantly of the ponderosa pine type, the firs, larches, and other species increasing in abundance in the higher elevations. The stand varies from 1,000 feet B. M. to 10,000 feet per acre, of which about 75 per

By midsummer of 1872 the great retreat was over. Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces had at last been taken while trying to protect the women and children of his people. The 3,100 Colville Indians were settled between the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers and the Canadian border. Headquarters for their affairs was established at the old Fort Spokane military post.

By 1892 land losses began to set in for the Colville Indians. In that year the northern half of the reservation was sold for a

cent is ponderosa pine. The reservation has an estimated stand in excess of two billion feet of timber, valued at more than \$5,000,000. From twenty-five to fifty million feet are cut each year on a selective basis, with from 25 to 60 per cent of the volume being reserved in conformity with the policy of sustained yield forest management.

With the coming of the reservoir on the Columbia River formed by the backwaters of the Grand Coulee Dam which adjoins the reservation, the Columbia River will cease to be a transportation barrier. This should stimulate interest in timber which heretofore could not be considered because of excessive transportation costs. The Biles Coleman Lumber Company of Omak, logging the Moses Mountain Unit, and the Landreth Brothers Lumber Company of West Fork, logging the West Fork Unit, are the largest operators on the reservation.

The soils of the reservation, fertile almost without exception, are predominantly sandy or gravelly. They are for the most part composed of transported material such as glacial drift. The fine land is generally located in the narrow valleys of the reservation and the bench lands of the Columbia River. The temperature hits the extremes of more than twenty below zero and one hundred above. The winters are, however, mild and pleasant, and the summer nights are cool and enjoyable, with low humidity and invigorating breezes.

During past years, about 1,300 head of cattle and 45,000 sheep owned by white men have grazed on the reservation, in addition to over 5,500 head of cattle and 3,600 sheep owned by Indians. While the number of wild horses running on the reservation is decreasing, it is estimated that in excess of 1,000 head are still on the roam. The grazing resources consist of approximately 1,074,287 acres of excellent forage, of which 800,000 acres also contain coniferous timber.

The protection of the Indians' \$6,400,000 timber resources from fire is a major problem. The difficulty is heightened by the inaccessibility, serious hazard, and extent of areas protected. At present the forests are guarded by twelve lookouts, the highest of which is Moses Mountain, where a new 120-foot steel tower was constructed in 1938. With the coming of the Civilian Conservation Corps many needed structures and roads were built and crews strategically located to facilitate fire suppression. An extensive radio system is in use which greatly enhances the value of the fire control organization. In the last few years, truck trails and roads have been blazed and many areas hitherto inaccessible have been opened up, facilitating reaching a fire while it is still small and easily extinguished. There are still many areas, chiefly in the lightning-hazard zone, however, which require five to ten hours' travel by pack horse before the fire can be reached. During the past sixteen years an average of 82 fires have been extinguished each year, of which more than 35 per cent were caused by lightning. Fires of incendiary origin have presented one of the most difficult problems, causing many of the worst fires, but this hazard has been diminished considerably by protective measures made possible with the coming of projects providing work relief, such as the CCC-ID and Roads activities.

The Colville Indians continue to make progress in spite of the lack of adequate irrigation to develop fully their farm lands. At the present time 10,783 acres are being dry-farmed and 960 acres are being farmed by irrigation.

The Indians have formed seven cooperative stock associations and at present own about 1,800 head of purebred Hereford and Shorthorn cattle, in addition to their grade stock. They are meeting the necessity for more income to be able to lead normal lives as demanded by present-day standards.

The opportunity to work and learn how to do things afforded during the past five years on CCC-ID, Roads, PWA, and various other projects has contributed more toward the development of the Indian than could be accomplished in a generation under former conditions. The physical improvements of the Indians' assets as a result of this work are of inestimable value, second only to the greater assurance given the Indians for the future as a self-supporting people.

\* \* \* \* \*

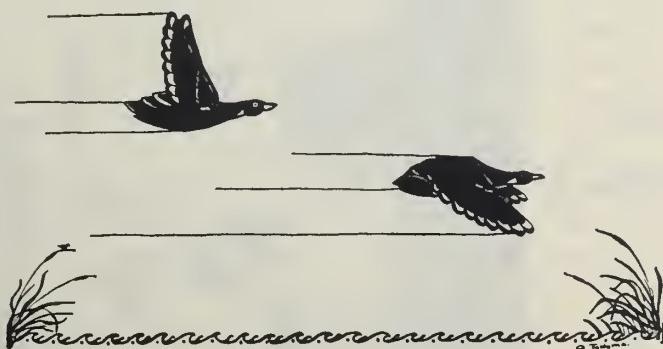
#### A LEGEND FROM THE NORTHWEST

By Maurice Antelope, Coeur d'Alene Indian, Idaho

The old Indians used to say that Indian pipes have power. They say when the Indians made a trap for salmon in the river and the salmon he won't go into the trap, then the chiefs tell someone who knows what to do, to go to that trap. That Indian goes to the river and sits right on the bank with his pipe. He makes a light on his pipe and then he takes three puffs and points three times at the fish in the river with the pipe. When he points the pipe to the trap, the fish they got to come. When he has lots of salmon, almost enough to break the trap, he gets up and goes back to the camp and tells the chiefs: "Now you pick out six good strong men and three long poles and get the salmon. Lots of salmon now."

The men go to the river and pick the salmon out of the trap. They put the poles through the fishes' gills and each two men carry one pole with fish on them. This is what the old Indians say.

From "The Indian Sentinel", January 1939.



THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE UNITED STATES

By Paul J. Broderson, Forest Supervisor,

Taholah Agency, Washington

At Neah Bay, on the Makah Indian Reservation in Washington is the "Hole In The Wall", a small rockbound harbor. And on a cliff some 250 feet above the beach is a stone marker, "The Northwest Cornerstone of the United States", placed there in the summer of 1936, at a ceremony in which the Makah Indians, as well as a number of distinguished visitors, took part.

From this Northwest Corner - the point in the United States which is not the furthest north, nor the furthest west - but the furthest northwest - one gets a magnificent view of the Pacific Ocean, the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and high-rocked Tatoosh Island, guardian of ships in the surrounding waters.



In the foreground is the  
northwest tip of the  
United States with  
Tatoosh Island in  
the background.

Cape Flattery Landing At  
The "Hole In The Wall."



## THE INDIANS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

By Erna Gunther

Department of Anthropology, University of Washington

Long ago the "Northwest" meant Minnesota and Wisconsin, but the frontier has moved beyond, and now the term is applied to the furthermost shores of our country. Still, in deference to the people who are accustomed to a closer "Northwest", the name has been modified by "Pacific." Even though streamlined trains furnish quick connection with the East, and great cities have grown up in this region, to the average student of American Indians this is still a little known "frontier" of Indian life.

Since the Pacific Northwest has grown so rapidly, the Indians' contact with whites was much more intense and constant than in those parts of the country crossed by wagon trains. Also there are still Indians living who remember the first white settlers. In spite of such recent changes in the population of the Pacific Northwest, the disintegration of Indian culture in many parts of the area is so far advanced that the problem today is to make the Indian again aware of his own cultural heritage.

Geographically, how does one delimit this area? Within the United States, Washington and Oregon are usually designated as "Pacific Northwest", but ethnographic groupings cannot be defined by modern political boundaries. The same type of culture continued through British Columbia and into South-eastern Alaska. Since the inclusion of the two latter units would spread our problem too far, we will consider in this sketch only the Pacific Northwest represented in the United States. Even with this limitation the problem is still complex. In the Northwestern portion of California there are several tribes, the Hupa, Karok and Yurok who share with the Indians of the coast of Oregon and Washington customs which are truly Northwest in their conception. More thorough anthropological field work along the coast of Oregon is building up the link between this part of California and the Northwest coast. It seems that from the west coast of Vancouver Island, down the coast of Washington and Oregon, many culture traits are found that resemble one another, obviously derived from one source. So the unit which should be considered in analyzing Indian cultures is a narrow coastal strip, west of the Cascade Mountains, stretching for nearly a thousand miles along the Pacific Rim.

In contrast to a similar coastal strip in British Columbia and south-eastern Alaska, one does not find the deep fjord-like inlets and many islands which give shelter to seafarers and protected sites for villages. The coast of Oregon is unbroken for many miles and villages usually clustered along the mouth and lower courses of rivers. The same was true to a lesser degree in Washington. The farther up the rivers villages were located, the greater their hunting activities, as compared with fishing. This also applied to the people living along the rivers that empty into Puget Sound. Tribes such as Skagit and the Puyallup were divided into a salt water and an up-river group.

In spite of the relatively uniform culture of these coastal people there is the diversity of language so common on the Pacific coast. Starting at Cape Flattery, the most northwestern point of the United States, one finds Makah, a Nootcan language belonging to the stock spoken on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Their next neighbors to the South are the Quileute, members of the Chimshian stock shared only by one other tribe, now extinct. Now come the Quinault who belong to the Salish family, widely represented in Washington in both its coast and interior form. The Chehalis and Lower Cowlitz near Grays Harbor share this Salish affiliation, while their southern neighbors are all Chinook, a language spoken on both sides of the Columbia River as far east as The Dalles. The people of Puget Sound all speak a Salish dialect.

The culture of this coastal strip may be characterized in the following way: (1) a fishing and gathering economy with the use of dried foods in the unproductive seasons; (2) stress on wealth, rank, use of slaves and the presence of the potlatch; (3) a winter round of ceremonial; (4) extensive use of wood in building and utensils; (5) water transportation.

All these traits were most strongly developed in the northern part of the area under consideration and were a continuation of similar customs to the north.

In contrast, the eastern part of these two states offers an entirely different picture. The country is semi-arid and is drained in Washington by the mighty Columbia River. Again similar patterns of custom continue to the northward among the interior Salish peoples of the Fraser Valley. Into Washington and northern Oregon, however, there intruded in the last 150 years a strong influence from the Plains Indians. With the introduction of the horse these people gradually developed much greater interest in journeys to the eastward for buffalo hunting, but this never supplanted their fishing completely. The use of buckskin, elkskin, and buffalo skin for clothing and tepee covering became widespread among the Yakima, Umatilla and Nez Perce. While the Sanpoil and Nespelem on the Colville Reservation were exposed to the same influences, they nevertheless preferred to retain their older type of true Plateau culture and a number of colorful Plains traits which were adopted by their neighbors never seeped into this culture.

When the anthropologist speaks of culture areas and represents them on a map, a false idea is frequently obtained from the hard lines which divide one area from another. In the first place these lines are very difficult to draw, and in the second place, they should be shaded, because in every area culture traits are gradually replaced by others, and there are really no abrupt changes. This is especially true in the area which we have under consideration, for the plateau between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains has received heavily from both the Coast and the Plains Indians. Another important factor is an historic one. In lining up our cultures today, or even within the recent historic period, we find an entirely different distribution of traits from the one presented several centuries ago. In other words, while Indian cultures did not change as rapidly as our civilization changes today, their culture was far from static. So today, while the affiliations of many Plateau tribes seem to be closer to the Plains Indians, formerly this was not true.

In conclusion, one might say that the most important ethnographic division in Washington and Oregon is an east-west one, with the western portion beyond the Cascades very definitely defined, whereas the eastern area continues with minor changes over toward Idaho and Western Montana in the north to the Coeur d'Alene, Pend d'Oreille and Flathead, and in Oregon the relationship between Umatilla and Fort Hall is equally strong. This shading also occurs from north to south on the coast, with the most strongly developed northwest coast traits on the coast of Washington, and a fading out of these traits as one approaches the California border. Doubtless there is some relationship between the environment and the adoption of many of these culture traits, but this is completely overshadowed by the cultural alertness and energy of the people involved.

\* \* \* \* \*

COVER PAGE PICTURE

The photograph which appears on the cover page of this issue shows a Klamath timber log raft, taken in June 1938, and one of the largest log rafts ever floated. This log raft, stretching as far as the eye can see, upon Upper Klamath Lake, entered the Mill Pond of the Algoma Lumber Company plant at 6 a.m. after two hours' towing time from Agency Lake. Towing is done mostly at night, when wind and breeze are usually zero, as the effect of the slightest breeze on such huge surface may prove disastrous. The picture was taken as the raft started on its trip from Agency Land. Its contents are 2,000,000 board feet of lumber.

\* \* \* \* \*

SALMON AS POSSIBLE GOITER PREVENTIVE\*

"Whilst considering the lack of goiter amongst these Indians I would like to draw attention to the fact that they eat a great deal of salmon. The fish come up the Birkenhead to spawn, and many millions of eggs are secured at the Government hatchery a mile above the village. The Indians are allowed to use the spent salmon and annually cure thousands of fish for winter use. Their pigs also eat the dead salmon washed ashore on the gravel banks of the stream. It is quite probable that the Indians and their pigs get enough iodine from the salmon to give their thyroids the necessary quantum of this element."

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\* Excerpted from "Pacific Salmon Fisheries", U. S. Department of Commerce, Fisheries Document No. 1092. Quoted from Dr. W. D. Keith, P. 551.

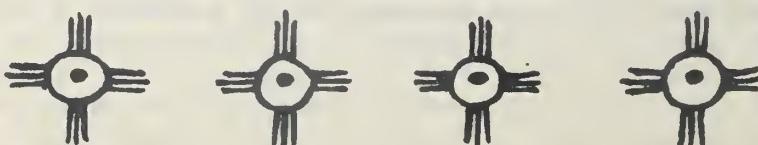
AN EMBLEM OF PROGRESS AT SWINOMISH RESERVATION (TULALIP AGENCY) WASHINGTON



This 60-Foot Totem Pole Was Carved By Tribal Artists As Part Of A Joint WPA And Tribal Program On The Recreational Area Recently Completed At Swinomish, Washington.

The Swinomish Indian Reservation is one of the oldest in the State of Washington. Established in 1855, it now consists of approximately 22,000 acres in Skagit County, close to Puget Sound. The reservation's southern boundary is a little less than sixty miles, as the crow flies, due north of Seattle. The most recent count shows 285 Indians as living within the reservation's limits. While the area was originally set aside for the Swinomish, members of the Samish Tribe and several small bands of Skagit Indians were subsequently placed on the reservation because of intermarriage and other intimate tribal ties.

The Swinomish are known among Service people and among their white neighbors as an especially fine group of Indians, whose industry, thrift, and pride in their own inheritance and traditions have brought them well-deserved progress.



## TOTEMS - THEIR MEANING TO THE INDIANS

(Excerpts From An Address Made Before The Presidents' Forum Of Seattle By

O. C. Upchurch, Superintendent, Tulalip Agency, Washington)

"The totem is a form of Indian lore and represents a system of philosophy which probably has deeper influence on Indian character than any other element in their culture. Totem is derived from an Algonquin word meaning relatives, or relations, and is the term applied to the bird, animals, or objects from which a tribe or clan originated, such as the Swinomish and Clallam legend of the dog ancestry or it is the animal, or object representing the guardian spirit or Skalal-i-tut of an Indian person.

"Totem poles, separate and apart as such, were not made or used by Washington tribes until recently, but totem symbols were carved on their door posts, on supporting columns of the long-houses, and on their ceremonial boards. The symbolism used was of two distinct characters, one in which the carved symbol represented a legend which was oft repeated to children, a story with a lesson or moral which formed an important part of their education. The second kind of symbol represented the totem or guardian spirit of its owner, the full story of which was secret and the powers which it conveyed usually known only to the person to whom it belonged.

"The practice of this mysticism is probably known to many and in my opinion is one of the strongest supports of Indian character and affords the clearest insight to its interpretation. Before one can develop integrity, capacity or ability in a child or a man, first, there must be implanted faith in his own destiny. This was effectually accomplished among the coast tribes of Washington by their totems.

"The Indian youth at, or before the age of maturity is sent out by his parents or goes voluntarily into the woods for days to fast and bathe and purify himself and search for his Skalal-i-tut or his guardian spirit. He thus puts himself in the attitude of mind and condition of soul for spiritual communication. Thus entranced, sleeping or waking, the vivid vision or experience comes to him. The animal, fish, bird, or stone will speak to him and convey to him certain spiritual powers. This is to him a reality, the happy fulfillment of traditional expectation. He has these powers forever after because he knows he has them. He exercises these powers when occasion arises but does not boast or often tell of them. He has something definite to which his soul is anchored and as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.

"On the totem pole at Tulalip Agency are depicted some sixteen totems among which are the eagle, totem of Bob Guakimas, the black fish, totem of Sam Dan, the double-headed fox, totem of Willapa Tom, the two arrow dog, totem of Charley Moses, three discs or 'Swe-de-lish', totem of John Fornsby, the black bear, totem of Swinomish George. These are the authentic totems of these persons, but just what powers each conveys is the mystic secret of the owner of the totem.

"The only current manifestations of these spirit-controls is shown in the spirit dances of Treaty Day. Many of the dancers go into trances, sing the song of their totem, and in some instances, act out the spirit which controls them. I have seen a Chilliwack Indian with the spirit of the bear whose dance was so completely and perfectly an imitation of a bear dancing that the power of his totem was evident even to a casual observer. A limited number of white persons are admitted to these ceremonies and are made welcome."

\* \* \* \* \*

BLACKBERRY JAM AS INCOME FOR INDIAN WOMEN OF THE GRAND RONDE-SILETZ RESERVATION IN OREGON



Siletz Self-Help Community Building. The Extension Contains Cannery, Kitchen, Cold Storage Room and Work Room.

Industry has grown until approximately \$1,000 was earned by fifty Indians in 1938. This fine preserve is being sold in several eastern states. In 1938, the firm of Meier and Frank placed orders for this jam amounting to \$374. This undertaking was financed by Indian rehabilitation funds. Inasmuch as the project has met with such definite success, plans are under way to enlarge it. All such plans are formulated and carried out by the Indians themselves under the aegis of the business committees of the tribes concerned. At Siletz, Oregon, alone, in addition to the 773 quarts of blackberry jam canned - the women there have put up 10,447 cans of berries, tomatoes, salmon, venison and the like. This has resulted in an average of 232 cans per family.

The value to the community of the local canning and preserving industry is that it provides both a means of subsistence for the severe winters and a source of cash income to the Indian operatives.

On the Grand Ronde-Siletz Reservation in western Oregon, an abundance of wild blackberries grows on the mountainsides. During the summer the women of this reservation go forth and pick them. From these berries, they make a richly-flavored, superior jam which is marketed to various mercantile establishments, hotels and small grocery stores.

Since 1934, when the project was first begun by Charles E. Larsen, veteran Indian worker, the in-

## THE CHINOOK JARGON

By Edward Harper Thomas

(Excerpted, With Permission, From "American Speech", Vol. II, June 1927)

### 16 CHINOOK DICTIONARY.

House.	House.	Hungry.	O-lo.
How.	Káh-tah.	Hurry.	Hyák; howh.
How are you?	Kla-hów-ya?	Husband.	Ikt man kwón-
How large?	Kon-si hy-ás?		ē-sun mít-lite ko-pa ikt
Huckleberries.	Shot ó-lil-		kloóch-mau.
lies.		Hut.	Ten-as house.
Hundred.	Tuk-a-mó-nuk.		

### I

I (or me).	Ní-ka.	Industrious.	Kwón-e-sum
Ice.	Cole chuck.	mam-ook.	
Idle.	Kul-tus mít-lite.	Inebriate.	Kwón-ē-sum
Idol.	Stick pe-stone sáh-	muck-amuck lúm.	
a-lé tyéé.		Infant.	Ché ten-as.
If.	Spouse.	Infirm.	Wake skoó-kum.
Imbecile.	Wake skoó-kum	Inform.	Pot-latch kum-tux.
la-táte.		Inhale.	Is'-kum wind.
Imbibe.	Is'-kum ko-pa lá-	Ink.	Klale chuck mam-ook
boos'.			túm.
Imitate.	Mam-ook káh-kwa	Innocent.	Wake me-sáh-
kón-a-way til-a-kum.			che.
Immense.	Hy-as.	In-shore.	Mah-i-wil-e.
Impostor.	Kul-tus til-a-	Instep.	Sáh-a-le le-peá'.
kum-.		Insult.	Me-sáh-che wa-wa
Imprison.	Mit-lite ko-pa	ko-pa til-a-kum.	
skoó-kum house.		Interpret.	Mam-ook kum-
In.	Kó-pa.	tux hul-oi-me wí-wa.	
Inability.	Ków-kwult.	Intoxicate.	Cháh-co dlúnk.
Increases.	Cháh-co hy-fú.	Invite.	Wa-wa cháh-co ko-
Indeed.	Whaah; di-rate	pa ní-ka.	
ná-wit-ka.		Iron.	Chick-a-min.
Indian.	'Si-wash.	Island.	Ten-as ill-a-he.
Indomitable.	Skoó-kum la-	It.	O'-coke; or Yáh-ka.
táte.			

A Page From Gill's Dictionary  
Of The Chinook Jargon,  
Reproduced With Permission Of  
The J. K. Gill Company,  
Portland, Oregon.

of Meares, Cook and Barclay, the many manuscripts found in old libraries in the northwest and some fifty editions of various dictionaries, copies of which are still to be had, have preserved the embalmed mummy of Chinook, even if the Jargon is rarely spoken, and but little understood by those who use it on purely show occasions.

Relatively few Americans know that there was once a language spoken on this continent by more than one hundred thousand persons in their everyday relations and intercourse, which, except for a few words and phrases, is now almost in the limbo of the lost. No one knows how far this strange tongue goes back into prehistoric antiquity, nor how many generations or thousands of generations used it in their primitive trade and barter; for it was originally a trade language used by the native Americans over a widespread territory in their tribal commerce in slaves, shells, furs and other exchangeable commodities.

This language is the Chinook Jargon, a few words of which - such as tillicum, cheechaco, tyee, skookum and cultus - are found in the widely read western stories written by men and women who lay the scenes for their narratives in the far northwest and Alaska. Except for these half-dozen words the Jargon is rapidly falling into disuse and will sooner or later be forgotten.

Chinook was used extensively down to twenty years ago. The few words mentioned above are occasionally employed for the purpose of lending an air of erudition to the work of popular writers, but the narratives of Lewis and Clark, the journals of many early missionaries, the thrilling story of Jewett's captivity among the Nootkans in 1803-1805, the logs

Study of the Jargon as it is today, compared with texts in the original Indian dialects, shows traces of Nootkan, Chehalis, Chinook, Tokwhat, Kwakiutl, Bella-bella and words from many other dialects, with the Chinook predominating. The Jargon is made up of many Indian words, some words typically Indian English (Indian attempts to pronounce English), some French words (and Indian-French) and still other words that are merely crude attempts to imitate natural sounds, like "hehe" for fun or laughter.

The Jargon originated in the primitive and prehistoric necessity for a trade vehicle. In the beginning Chinooks picked up some Nootkan words. To these were added words from the Salish and Kwakiutl tongues. This was the original Jargon as it existed for no one knows how many centuries, but so long, perhaps, as slaves were bought and sold. All the tribes talked it, so this Jargon was the language spoken between strangers. When the white men came, beginning with Drake and Juan de Fuca and two centuries later, Cook, Meares, Barclay, Vancouver and Elisa, their attempts to converse with the natives drew replies in the Jargon. Jewett was addressed in this tongue by the Nootkans. That is the reason why he had a dozen Jargon words in his supposedly Nootkan vocabulary. Lewis and Clark talked to Concommolly in English and the records of their Journal show that the Chinook chief replied in Jargon by saying "waket commatus", or don't understand.

At one time, not farther back than the seventies, all the natives of Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, of the coastal islands as far north as the southern limits of Alaska and of parts of Idaho and Montana and all the traders, hunters, trappers, miners, whites and Chinese, the pioneers and settlers, preachers and teachers used the Jargon in practically all their everyday intercourse, business and social. In this entire area not less than a hundred thousand persons spoke this strange picturesque tongue. One had to know it as he knew the trails and watercourses, how to paddle a canoe, catch salmon or ride a cayuse. It was indispensable.

That the Jargon came to be called Chinook was natural. The first important white occupation was at the mouth of the Columbia. This was the territory of the ancient Chinook (tsinuk) Tribe. Chinook words constituted the largest part of the prehistoric Jargon. So this common trade language was named Chinook, after this old parent tribe. There is no pure dialect of that people spoken today and none exists in written form apart from the "Chinook Texts" gathered and written by Dr. Franz Boas in 1893. There is not now a single living pureblood Chinook, despite the fact that this was the great, powerful, ruling tribe of the Lower Columbia region but little more than a century ago.

Chinook was not spoken by Alaska natives of the interior, and it was spoken by those on the far southeastern island fringe only after the Russian cession of Alaska to the United States. The Jargon did not go into that territory until the Klondike rush and even then, only a few words were carried there by the Puget Sounders who were among the first seekers following George Carmack's famous find. These carried with them such Chinook words as had become part of their daily English on Puget Sound - "cheechaco", "Skookum", "cultus", and "tillicum." The first is two words combined, "chee", new and "chaco", come. It is commonly spelled "cheechaco" and literally means new come, but is the equivalent of newcomer or tenderfoot.

"Skookum" means strong. There are many "skookumchucks", or rapids and falls in the rivers, as "chuck" is water, and is taken from the original Chinook "chauk."

"Cultus" is a term meaning bad, no good, and most commonly a degree of utter worthlessness for which there is no single English equivalent. It will sometime be English because of its broadness and strength.

Then there is "tillicum" (spelled tillikum in most dictionaries). Originally it meant just people, persons, relatives sometimes, and friends sometimes, though never the latter in early days. It meant anybody except the "tyee" or chief. Alaskans formed partnerships in their prospecting and mining ventures. Among some of these the deepest friendships existed. Such Alaskans called each other "tillicum", which thus became a term of affection and endearment, though the Chinook for friend was and is "sikhs", pronounced six. "Tillicum" in Alaska has a special significance, though it has not this in the Jargon; but that special significance grew out of special conditions that existed in no such sense anywhere else in the world. Men have mined elsewhere and have formed partnerships elsewhere, but only in Alaska did they go into vast solitudes to mine gold from frozen gravels under the skies of sub-arctic nights. So we must give them "tillicum", with all that it means in depth and strength of enduring affection.

There are few forms in Chinook. The personal pronouns will serve to illustrate. "Nika" is I, my, mine, me, first person singular, all cases; "mika" is you, your, yours, second person singular, all cases; "yahka" is he, she, it, his, hers, her, him, they, their, theirs, them, third person, singular or plural, all cases. "Hesika" is the plural, all cases, for the first person and "mesika" for the second person.

Adjectives are given comparison by prefixing and by adding words. "Kloshe" is good; "elip Kloshe" is better, "elip" alone meaning first or before. If we desire the superlative we add "kopa konaway", than all, to "elip kloshe", better, and have "elip kloshe kopa konaway", better than all, or best.

The manner in which Jargon words have been evolved from natural sounds and the way in which they are employed can be illustrated by the word wagon. The early settlers came overland in heavy wagons. Such vehicles were clumsy, noisy, slow-moving affairs and were drawn over the roughest and crudest roads, the roads going "chik, chik, chik, chik." Any wheeled vehicle to an Indian of those days was a chik-chik. So if one came in a wagon and was questioned "kahta mika chako?" (How did you come?), the answer was, "Nika chako kopa chik-chik" (I came in a wagon).

Chinook was a great aid to early settlement. It was a means of communication between natives and whites which not only facilitated trade, but which had a place in the social relations of Indians and settlers. They could converse intelligently and because of this fact, had a foundation upon which to build more or less enduring friendships.

Governor Stevens, first governor of Washington Territory, before the Civil War, negotiated a long and complicated treaty with all the Indian tribes within the territory, and did it all through the medium of the Jargon. The founders of Seattle saved that place from annihilation through their friendships with the chief for whom the city is named. Chinook was the means by which that friendship was made possible, as Seattle and his people could talk to the whites only in Jargon.

There is no need for a special language for communication between whites and Indians among Indians today. With the increased knowledge of English, the Jargon has fallen into disuse, and will, in a short time, be only an embalmed relic of the stirring days when traders, trappers, miners and adventurers, bull-team loggers and beach-combers, pioneers and preachers shared this corner of the republic with its unsuspecting, hospitable and gullible native inhabitants.

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Mount Adams In The State Of Washington, One Of The Magnificent Peaks Of The Northwest

## GONE - A TRIBE; A LANGUAGE; AND A RARE CULTURE

By Bon Whealdon

(This article was written from first-hand notes on the Chinook Indians, taken a number of years ago by older members of Mr. Whealdon's family, on the Chinook Indians. While fragmentary, the notes are authentic.

Some of them date back to 1778.)

Even today we hear the ancient ones among the Northwestern Indian tribes making occasional allusions to the old Chinooks (Tsinuks), to their past glories, and to their peculiar beliefs and practices.

Who were these people whose influence was so vital that, seventy years after their passing as a tribe, fragments of their purely Oriental philosophy are yet found among the older Pacific Slope Indians? Towns, lofty mountain passes, winds and salmon have been named for them. Their beautiful tongue, originally made up of majestic, long, musical-sounding words, has tinged the dialects of other West Coast Indians, and provided a basis for the fur traders' Esperanto - the Chinook Jargon.

From 1800 to 1867 the Chinook Tribe numbered some 600 souls. Their home was Southwestern Washington, particularly that region known as the North Beach Peninsula. Chief Jim Ilwaco was born in 1814. He was head man over all the Indians from the ancient Chinook fishing villages north to the native encampments along Shoal Water Bay (Willapa Harbor).

Before Ilwaco, his father, Kaloye, born apparently during the Revolutionary War period, had been head man up to about 1830. Kaloye was often successful in uniting the Chinooks and the kindred tribe of Clatsops who dwelt on the south bank of the lower Columbia River, in mutual defense against the piratical raids of the Puget Sound Indians. The latter in their large sea-going dugouts frequently came swooping down upon their southern neighbors in search of slaves. Slavery on a small scale was common among the West Coast Indians long before the Christian colonists had entered the game upon a commercial basis. The Indian captive was more fortunate than the Negro, for when the Indian slave's tasks of catching salmon, sturgeon and digging clams were done, he had many days of leisurely feasting.

The Chinooks were a tall, well-proportioned people, and, according to tradition, they had quick, keen minds. They were alert to the natural phenomena around them, they searched for reasons for them; they had a keen sense of humor; and they took pride in their honesty and their code of ethics. They were courteous to visitors and tender with their children.

The old Chinooks had a legend that their ancestors came in boats from a "Land in the ocean" - "Illahhee copa-Wecoma." They were called "Tsinuks" - strangers - by the other Indians.

### Visitors From Across The Water

Ilwaco said that during the earlier life of his father, two boats containing strange men - neither whites nor true Indians - were wrecked upon North Beach. Eventually they disappeared - whether they were killed or went inland, Ilwaco did not know. Ilwaco corroborated his story so far as he was able by taking several pioneer settlers to a shifting sand dune, which only partly concealed the hull of a strangely built boat. They hacked into some of the timbers and found them to be of an extremely hard wood, entirely unfamiliar to all of them.

A number of early white settlers were convinced that the mouth of the Columbia River had often been visited by Oriental seamen who had been swept off their courses by gales and ocean currents.

Ilwaco used to converse with some of his white friends on the religious concepts of his people. At the change called death, he said, the spirit departed in a spirit-canoe to Illahee-copa-Wecoma (mystical land in the sea). There it dwelt while learning new lessons; when the birth of a child in the old home circle provided an opening, however, the spirit returned to be reincarnated among its own people. (The story is told that Toke, a prominent Chinook, had never liked old Yamans and his wife. He stoutly maintained that they were really Puget Sound Indians, who, somehow had become entangled in the re-birth scheme and had been reborn as Tsinuks.)

Their Supreme Power was an all-powerful, beneficent influence, permeating both the visible and invisible phases of creation, and expressing itself in the growth of vegetation, in winds, waves, tides, movements of the heavenly bodies, birth and death. They have no concept of a region of eternal punishment in after-life, and were disturbed when such an idea was presented by an early Christian teacher. "Maybe the white Sahalee (God) would so punish his children, but the Indian Salahee would not torture either his Indian or white children."

They also had legends regarding a mighty Spirit-Teacher who came out of Illahee-copa-Wecoma to dwell among their ancestors to teach them the right way of life. Later these beautiful teachings degenerated into the Tolapus (Coyote) superstitions known to all the Northwestern tribes.

Their code of ethics was a lofty one. When the first missionary came through to teach, old Tum arose and explained that the visitor might as well save his words, as he and his people had always known and practiced a code of behavior similar to the new teachings.

The habit of skull-flattening (erroneously attributed to the Salish and which resulted in the name "Flatheads") was practiced by all the Chinookan peoples. It was considered a mark of distinction and only infants of the head families were subjected to the process. It, and the practice of tattooing the features, were gradually abandoned.

In 1854, we find Ilwaco lamenting that the traders with their supplies were causing his people to forget the ancient happier ways, crafts, and pursuits. "The children are learning to drink," he remarked, "to gamble, cheat and lie. Soon they will become like the white traders."

In 1859, some of the old women were still (to quote an old note) "happy in making mats, skirts and baskets. They employ the strong, pliable fibers from the inner cedar bark in their weavings. The mats and baskets are artistic in design and coloring. The young ladies are quite content to get dress material from the traders."

From further notes: "They have two methods of burial. Often the body was wrapped in blankets and interred in a shallow grave. Then there were the tree-cemeteries, where the corpse with its former personal effects was placed in a canoe, which was lashed to the branches of a tree. Some have wondered why canoe, rifle, bow and arrows and other implements left with the corpse were cut full of holes and otherwise mutilated. This was in accordance with the belief that each article possessed a spirit counterpart which must be liberated for its owner's use in the spirit-land. Ilwaco once smiled and gave another explanation - that it also prevented greedy corpse-robbers from dumping out the corpse and making material use of good equipment."

A later note explains the doom of the Chinooks as a tribe. "An epidemic of smallpox is carrying off multitudes of our coast Indians - Chinooks, Clatsops, Chehalis, and Cowlitz. Hundreds are now sick."

This, then, was the ending of the Chinook tribal organization. The scattered survivors were finally absorbed by the Clatsops and Chehalis tribes.

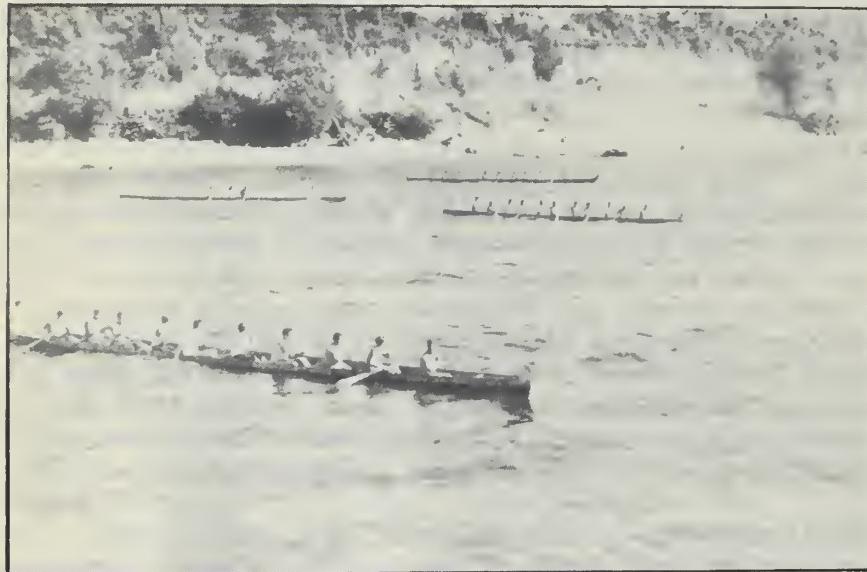
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#### A COMPARATIVELY RECENT INDIAN WAR

Among the interesting features of the Lava Beds National Monument, California, are the battlefields of the Modoc War, which occurred in 1872-3. These include "The Stronghold" where may be plainly seen the numerous cracks, ridges and knobs utilized by Captain Jack and his band of Indians, in defending their position against the United States troops.

Not more than fifty-three Modoc warriors are estimated to have represented the resources of the Indians. These fighting men of the tribe protected the remainder in the area against approximately 530 American soldiers. Although they escaped unharmed from the Stronghold, through a crevice left unguarded during the movement of the United States troops, the Indians were later brought to terms. Reprinted from Facts and Artifacts - National Park Service.

## THE COUPEVILLE WATER FESTIVAL



Paddles poised above the glassy water, droplets spattering on the swaying gunwales. The bow-man glances down the line of twenty-two fifty-foot "war" canoes. Suddenly the slim paddles bite the water; eleven backs bend as one; a near score of fantastic figureheads breast the dancing course. From the shore a roar of applause. The big race is on at the Coupeville Indian Water Festival.

Begun in 1930 when a few Indians paddled over from the Swinomish Reservation at LaConner, Washington, this festival has quickly become a unique and exciting event with Indian canoe crews from Washington and British Columbia competing in keen rivalry. Always held in the second week of August, there is glory and cash prizes awaiting the victorious crew. At regatta time the population of quaint little Coupeville swells to twenty times its normal size. In 1938 the winning boat was the "Lone Eagle" manned by Nooksack Indians.

The canoes are not strictly speaking war canoes. The traditional Puget Sound war canoe was bigger and heavier in order to carry more men, supplies, and battle gear. The crafts used are long, light, slim racing canoes. They are about fifty feet long and are carved with patient skill from huge cedar logs. They seat usually eleven men. From the figureheads they taper gracefully to their stern tips. Being light and fast, they require practice and teamwork to compete in the races at Coupeville.

In the old days the Indians raced canoes in Penn's Cove at Coupeville. This traditional event threatened to die out, however, before a group of Coupeville business men decided to stage a modest community celebration in 1930. From this resolve the Indian gala sports event has been revived.



AN INDIAN DANCE AT TOPPENISH, WASHINGTON, SEEN THROUGH  
THE EYES OF A NEWSPAPER REPORTER

(Reprinted With Permission Of The Yakima Daily Republic, Yakima, Washington)

Half a mile from the highway in the middle of a field stands the Toppenish longhouse, a structure built of rough one-inch lumber and roofed with tar paper. The road to the tribal meeting place is axle-deep in mud and once in the ruts, it is impossible to turn out or back up. Yet every hour of the day and night, dozens of cars slither their way in and out as the Indians of Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Montana attend the rites of their semi-annual celebration.

Last night the longhouse resounded to the steady four-beat stroke of the tom-tom and the weird high-pitched wailing of the "orchestra" while moccasined feet crashed against the hard-packed dirt floor in a rhythm which could be felt rather than heard, and bells of varying pitches, strapped to the legs of the dancers, completed the wild note of a savage music which cannot be described or written. It must be felt.

Men dancers circled slowly around the room, their deer-like costumes, colored beadwork and feathers transforming a prosaic wooden building and dirt floor into the council circle of a nearly forgotten era. As a few white observers present watched the ceremony the electric lights seemed to fade away and the iron-bellied stove at either end melted. In the place of the modern articles there came an impression of lofty pines and the ruddy glow of a fire. Pulses quickened and breathing became shorter as the rhythm of the drums increased its tempo and the dancers' feet moved faster and faster toward the finale of the war dance.

Around the oval arena sat Indian women in their blankets, some sucking enthusiastically away at white paper cigarettes, some attending the elemental needs of their young, others just sitting, their bright eyes taking in every detail of the ceremony, yet seeming to be fixed vacantly on a point in space.

The elders of the various tribes squatted around the upper end of the arena, the broad ten-gallon hat of the hard-riding westerner taking the place of the colorful Indian headdress. An occasional ripple of applause ran its way through the crowd upon completion of a difficult passage in the dance.

However, it was on the fringe of the crowd - in the back where the shadows were deep - that drama and the tragedy of the celebration had its way. There were several Indian girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years of age who had come to the celebration with their hair curled and bobbed. They wore store-made dresses and coats and the hard leather shoes of the white man.

Their eyes constantly wandered around the room. One moment they fixed the tribal ceremonies with the courteous detachment of a white spectator and the next their eyes became blank and their faces were stolid as the red man had its way within them.

This struggle between the races is more noticeable in the girls than in the boys. The boys throw themselves more into the spirit of the tribe, dancing around in costume - imitating their elders and forgetting there is a white world outside the rough board walls of the longhouse.

The struggle is reflected occasionally in the eyes of an elder tribesman as his gaze settles for a moment on the troubled faces of his grandchildren. The mask falls immediately and the sorrow of a lost art - a lost enthusiasm - is bottled up.

Last night, whenever the tribesman making the address completed a phrase in his native tongue, this phrase was repeated in English, not for the benefit of the few whites present, but for the younger members of the tribes who do not speak the language of their fathers.

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### "WHOA", AND THE MULE STOPPED

Told By Francis Plouff

Salem Indian School, Chemawa, Oregon

It was in the early times in the western country. A man was chosen to be a scout for the white people. One day he was about a mile and a half from his people. He saw what looked like a prairie fire and he made up his mind it was Indians. He was riding a mule. (In those days there were few horses that would stop when you said "Whoa." This mule could go very fast and he would stop at once at the word "Whoa.") So the man turned his mule and rode like the wind. He looked back and saw about five hundred Indians coming after him. He was headed for some deep gorges that were cut in the earth by water long ago. They were very deep. He was going fast. He could not stop his mule and over the cliff they went.

The bottom of the gorge was filled with rocks and it looked pretty bad for the scout. But when he was within three feet of the bottom he said, "Whoa!" and the mule stopped. And that is how he got to tell the story.



## LAND OF SAGE

### At Home On The Warm Springs Reservation In Oregon

By Elizabeth B. Loosely

The Warm Springs Reservation in Wasco and Jefferson Counties, Oregon, supports 800 industrious Wasco and Paiute Indians known generally as the Warm Springs Indians. Never unfriendly to the whites, the grandfathers of the present Indians made a treaty with the government in 1855. Two years later the Warm Springs Agency was created. In 1872, led by Donald McKay, they helped the U. S. Army quell the Modocs when they made a foray into Northern California and Southern Oregon.



General View Of Lower Seekseejua Creek Valley.  
Mt. Jefferson In Background.

Their homeland begins in great stretches of sage and juniper country which reach to snowcapped Mount Jefferson, where it rises out of the Cascades. The Metulious River forms the reservation's southern boundary. The northern line runs through high land, heavily timbered or overgrown with meadow grasses. The Deschutes River, famed all along the coast for its fishing, is the eastern boundary. Many lovely jewel-like lakes lie at the base of Mount Jefferson, Three Fingered Jack and Squaw Peak, feeding the streams that drain into the Deschutes River.

The sage land is cut by ravines and arroyos that lead into great canyons edged with brightly-colored rock formations that look like medieval fortresses and cathedrals. The bottoms of these cuts are desirable farm lands and here are many Indian homes. To others have fallen the tablelands that top these canyon walls.

The home of Alec and Blanche Tohet, an Indian couple whom I have come to know, is on the brow of a hill that rises into the mountains. To the



Ready To Leave For Cherry-Picking

east of them is a small stream and to the west is another. From their height the Tohets can watch their cattle grazing.

Off For The Cherry-Picking

When we first met Mrs. Tohet, she and a group of friends were cherry-picking - the wild cherry that thrives along the tiny brooks that feed the bottomlands. Gay kerchiefs bound the heads of the pickers; bright, clean gingham dresses were girded in with scarfs or beaded belts. Blanche Tohet wore ear-rings; in one ear she had an ornament cut from shell in a heart shape and in the other a gold dollar held in place by a spun gold wire. Her necklace of wampum had a pendant of hand-wrought gold.

The dresses of the native women are still cut as were the ones made of deerskin many years ago; a piece of folded cloth is rounded out for the neck; material left over the shoulders forms cape-like sleeves; and the sides are shaped into seams. In colder weather a fitted blouse is worn underneath this dress. Buckskin strips bind the legs; well-made moccasins are their footwear. The small hands, feet and well-shaped limbs of the full-blood people are noticeably handsome. Hair parted straight from the forehead to the back neckline is braided into two braids that meet in front and are then braided together for the last three inches and here intertwined is a bit of bright cloth. One of the pickers had topped her kerchief with a broad-brimmed hat and this was tied to her necklace with a bit of string. She laughed: "So it won't blow away," she said.

The patient horses were laden with baskets, some of them heirlooms several generations old. Shawls patterned in plaids and stripes were flung across saddles; red blankets were fashioned into a carrier for the babies and the numerous accompanying articles. These were all so securely fastened that the little girl in the picture (on the preceding page) could not crawl out if she wanted to. But why should she want to. This was one of the many adventures she has had, such as huckleberrying, fishing and going to the root festival.

Securing the full baskets with deft movements Mrs. Tohet said: "We eat these cherries now, or dry them to be made into sauce later, or can them as you do." The baby was demonstrating their goodness as both hands crowded them into her mouth. Pungent odors of crushed cherries, broken brake and trampled sage mingled as the calvacade of cherry-pickers waved good-bye.

#### In The Tohet's Home

Following this chance meeting we went to the Tohet home. Mrs. Tohet and the smallest child, a girl of fourteen months, were there. There home is typical: the main room is perhaps 14' by 22'; there were many high half-windows and a set of shelves on which were flour, sacked dried huckleberries and choke-cherries. Also here were herbs. These were to be used in the baths taken in the sweat-house that is a part of every domocile. The root of the sumac, bark of the alder and yellow moss were there for dyeing purposes and near them lay also several packages of commercial dyes.

The "long bench", a sewing machine and several pallets made up the furnishings. On the wall hung a drum. The frame was of juniper, over which a deerskin hide had been drawn after the hair had been scraped off. This was laced on with raw skin strings through holes made in the frame. In the center these strings were held with a weaving of fiber. Mrs. Tohet handed me the stick - juniper wood with soft cloth on one end. I struck the instrument and a soft zooming filled the room, filled it as putty does a crack. I gave it back to Mrs. Tohet who tapped it lightly, then with a peculiar wrist movement, the music gained volume until a resonance flowed out and across the hills.

So do they summon neighbors - so do they tell of sickness, death, marriages, births or festivals. The rousing ring of the family drum is carried in waves of sound to suit the occasion. This time it attracted Alec Tohet. He came hurriedly and his wife laughingly explained; he took it good-naturedly even though it had called him away from a cattle trade. He announced "Oh, they will come again tommorow", as he seated himself comfortably on the long bench. Traders from the Portland market were in to buy beef.



A Warm Springs Mother  
And Child

Alec's gay yellow shirt and large white hat made his braided hair seem the blacker. He showed us a white tanned deerskin and explained that this was the color before it was smoked and that brains or egg white were used to tan it. He showed us the moccasins he was wearing; they had been made in May and he had worn them constantly, except for fishing and some of the dirtier work.

Lovely corn husk bags hung empty or bulged with moccasin or glove patterns, also with partly-made gloves for the women keep sewing for pick-up work as we do. Soft, subdued native dyes vied with the more flamboyant yarn which present-day usage has made an accepted material in their basketry. Next the bags. It is hard to say which are the more beautiful - the corn husk ones, made from the thread-like fiber of the husk that wraps the corn ear and which is interwoven with a warp of stouter fiber or the beaded ones. The bold tones and varied patterns of the beaded bags have their place, surely. With beads they create not only the usual designs but also forest scenes. Often there is a fallen log and a stag; always a background of green trees, mountains and a stream. Truly some of these bags show real talent for design.

In the kitchen was salmon caught at Celilo; this had been partially dried and now was finishing off. Thin sticks the size of a lead pencil had been run through the flesh to keep it from curling up and not curing properly. Here also were dried salmon eggs spread out - later to be ground into pemmican. Here hung an especially attractive bag. "Oh, that one I get from my cousin's wedding," Mrs. Tohet said. "You mean your cousin gave it to you?" "No. I trade a horse for it and some beads at my cousin's wedding." Then we learned that trading and bartering is still carried on at these gatherings. We talked of Blanche and Alec Tohet's own wedding and heard the story.

Alec and Blanche had been deeply interested in each other. His people were well-to-do. Alec's father called on Blanche's people, bringing a few head of stock. They were accepted. The son called. The father came again bringing more cows and a few horses. The marriage was arranged. Blanche must have been a beautiful bride, for at thirty-eight, she is still lovely.



CCC-ID Camp At Warm Springs

Having accepted the teaching of the white man, Blanche and Alec went to Madras and were married according to the civil law. The bride and groom repaired to their separate homes, for according to their own custom, they were not yet wedded.

The zoom of the family drum carried up into the canyon, into wooded slopes and was here picked up and relayed until it reached the plateaus. Friends and relatives came from the hunting range, the fishing grounds, the cornfields, the roundup. They came bearing gifts, many gifts - cows, horses, shawls, beads, baskets and corn husk bags.

Venison, fish, pemmican, berries and roots came in burden baskets. Precious shawls, with all the earmarks of the early trade with the Sandwich Islands, came in suitcases so that their long fringe and embroidery would not be damaged. These suitcases are made of cowhide, cured white and folded into the shape of an envelope and laced together. The two outer flaps are painted with a clay-like substance in shades of vermillion, blue and emerald; in designs similar to those the Navajos use in their rug weaving.

More ponies arrived. On each side of these animals were alforjas, made of cowhide, holding gifts and goods for barter, since every gathering is a means of exchange. One man had an elk tooth that had lain in cooper soil and had taken on a shade of green that made it precious; this he would give in place of an iron kettle which was probably acquired from some early white settler or wagon train, along with beads of semi-precious stones found here on the reservation. So on it went.

Someone had gone into the forest and gathered the long black moss that grows on the pine tree, the moss the deer and cattle thrive on. Fires sprang up. Hot rocks were laid on embers in a pit, woven mats covered the rocks, and on these mats the moss was piled several feet high and then protected with more mats. On top of this went dried leaves, twigs and lastly a mound of earth. Just one tiny hole, the size of a finger, was left. This was accomplished by letting a stick protrude. All ready. Then water was poured into the hole. Quickly the opening was sealed. Inside the steam rose around the moss and was left thus for hours. It was taken out a soft black substance and put to dry and when partially cooled it was cut into loaves.

Chants, dancing, bright fires and feasting; then the exchange of gifts and gambling took place. This was all a part of the wedding ceremony. At last, with a comb fashioned from wood, the mother of the groom combed the bride's hair, the final rite of the services. Horse-blanketed in red cloth fringed with buckskin were decked with throws that fell from the mounts' withers and rumps. These were heavily beaded and fringed and from the fringe in turn dangled tiny silver bells, ornaments and trinkets such as an eagle's claw, a bluejay's bright feather, a dice, a piece of rosary. The young couple rode away while around the central fire voices rose and fell, rose and fell in the ceremonial song.

The people stayed on until the food was exhausted. Until they were exhausted from lack of sleep and excitement. Some of the more expert at gambling went home with the other fellow's buckskin shirt, as well as with most of his ponies. (There was once a Chief No-shirt.)

Later the young couple returned to live with first one, then the other of the parents. Then they established their own home, fashioned their own family drum, hung the tapestries of corn husks and beads on their own house walls and made their own long bench.

This marriage was eighteen years ago. The Tohets have five sturdy bright-eyed children now, four going to school at the Warm Springs Agency where their parents went before them.

At this time of the year the cattle are being brought in; the Indians have their fish and berries; the bath herbs are all garnered; and the necessary purchases have been made with sums earned from work in hop and potato fields and from the sale of wild horses. This family, like hundreds of other on the Warm Springs\* Reservation, is retaining the old, dependable, and homely traits of their ancestors, and at the same time taking from white life what best fits their needs.

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\* The name is taken from hot springs on the Warm Spring River. These springs have a high mineral content. They were used by the early Indians to cure many ailments and are still found to be very beneficial.

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Above: Indians from the Warm Springs Agency fishing at Celilo Falls.



Right Side: This picture shows an Indian of the Warm Springs Agency engaged in fall plowing.

# CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS — INDIAN DIVISION

## NOTES FROM WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORTS

White Pine Pruning At Red Lake (Minnesota) The pruning of white pine trees at Ponemah is coming along very well. The men are getting more familiar with the work and are improving every day. The work looks good and they are doing a clean job. They have completed 36 acres during the past week. O. V. Fink.

Surveying Work At Rosebud (South Dakota) This week's work consisted of making a topographic survey of the proposed parking area around the CCC-ID garage, setting grade stakes for the crew working on erosion control work around the CCC-ID cottages, and taking over the engineering work on three proposed dams. The work on these dams consisted of locating test pits, taking soil samples, and making a topographic survey of part of the reservoir area on Dam No.97. Melvin H. C. Hall, Trail Locator.

Vocational Instruction At Salem School (Oregon) Vocational education time was taken up with problems on electric welding and project demonstrations. An explanation on the percentage of carbon contained in steel which can be used for electric welding was offered. Some of the elements found in steel, and which may have a good effect or a bad effect on the welding are: aluminum, silicon, carbon, manganese, nickel, and chromium. James L. Shawver, Dairymen.

Landscaping Sanatorium Grounds At (Choctaw-Chickasaw Sanatorium) Five Tribes (Oklahoma) Work during the past week has consisted of cutting out dead pine trees on and near the sanatorium grounds. These

trees had become infested with bores and it was essential that they be removed and burned in order to prevent the other trees from becoming infested too.

A rock wall, some two and one-half feet high and five feet long is being built on either side, at the end of one of the drives to prevent washing and cutting at that point. Very satisfactory progress is being made. Tony Winlock, Assistant Leader.

From Standing Rock (North Dakota) In making my weekly report, I wish to say that the officials and all those who are supervising the work and improvement on the projects, such as building dams, making community gardens and irrigation, are doing it for the benefit of the Indians. We hope good will be derived from these projects. We are going to realize a double benefit from the dam and money earned for a livelihood for each one of us - and that is a mighty good benefit.

During this winter we have been working on the fire lanes in the timber lands, clearing and pulling out stumps to a width of 66 feet. Doing this work, we are making a living for our families during these cold days. We are also going to cut posts for the planned community pasture which is to be built, and this is important toward our livestock program. Therefore, I believe that there should be no change in this relief setup. As a leader, I would say that this kind of work is both educational and beneficial. I therefore wish to declare it in this report. Thomas Mentz, Leader.

Work At Fort Totten (North Dakota) Mr. Stuart C. Edmonds, Assistant Telephone Supervisor of the Billings District Office, visited this agency to make a general check-up on our automatic exchange and telephone system. The call recording device on the switchboard shows that over fifteen thousand calls went through the board during the past two months.

A separate file card has been worked up for each CCC-ID well and spring put down under the CCC-ID on the reservation since the beginning of the program. The property card shows the number of the well, the name, location; the type of well, whether dug by hand, bored or drilled, type of curbing, size and depth, type of tank, pump and windmill, type of fence, date completed, and the total cost, as well as a space provided for future maintenance records on each individual well. The proper recording of all these wells and springs has been a great deal of work, but we feel that the time expended is well worth the information that can be obtained from these cards in the future. Christian A. Huber, Junior Engineer.

Work At Bear Creek Dam - Pine Ridge (South Dakota) Despite the snow over the weekend, the rock excavation crew put in their full week. They encountered snowdrifts on their way to and from work, but they continued with their work.

Dr. Tate arrived at Allen Consolidated School this week and a good many of the men took advantage of his presence and went there to have their teeth examined and cared for. Some of the men were sick due to tooth extractions. Paul Valandry, Camp Assistant.

Truck Trail Maintenance At Mis-

sion (California) The entire week was spent on truck trail maintenance. All the trails were gone over, drainage was opened, slides were cleared, and washouts were filled in. E. A. Vitt, Project Manager.

Educational Program At Keshena (Wisconsin) Our CCC-ID educational program progressed much during the past week. We had two meetings to discuss the possibilities of having an enrollee program. After much discussion concerning the various courses which would be taught, it was decided to begin classes with First-Aid and Safety courses.

As far as the work is concerned, the crews are right up to the "notch" and the men are all in high spirits.

The timberstand improvement crew progressed very nicely this week. They have covered 35 acres.

We have inaugurated something new in the line of enrollee program entertainment by turning over the meeting to different crews each week to furnish entertainment. Walter Ridlington, Project Manager.

Work At Sells (Arizona) Some difficulty was experienced at the beginning of this telephone job in trying to select a route close enough to the road for maintenance purposes, and still dodge two or three fairly bad washes and a lot of heavy brushing. However, after this was done, very good progress was made. A. M. Chisholm, Foreman.

Auto Mechanics Class Improves At Great Lakes (Wisconsin) We have a very fine class in garage mechanics at Camp Marquette, Michigan. This class has been in session for a period of three months and as a whole, we have shown a very remarkable im-

provement. The plan for the class is to study the various systems such as brakes, tires, lubrication, transmission, cooling, oiling, ignition and many others. Eric F. Enblom, Senior Camp Assistant.

Large Attendance At Dance At Flathead (Montana) This week was full of action for the activity program at Valley Creek Camp. The dance at the Agency, given by the camp, drew an approximate crowd of five hundred adults and children. The novel feature of the dance was the presence of two orchestras. The Agency orchestra, composed of employees, played the latest steps for the more modern swingsters. After about three or four rounds of this music, the camp orchestra, with piano, fiddle and banjo poured forth music that was sweet to the ears of those who knew the technique of the old-time square dances.

Although a smaller crowd was expected, everyone present was served a supper plate and extra coffee when desired. Camp cooks and other camp members served the supper in an orderly and efficient manner. Afterwards, the hall was cleaned for the dance and the party continued until 4 a.m. Eugene Maillet.

Activities At Navajo (Arizona) We have been working around the camp all week trying to finish up a few jobs that we have started. The boys have the ground for the basket ball course almost completed. We have also started our oil house. It will be made out of rock and just large enough for our oil and white gasoline. We have our educational program now under way. Last week we visited the different trading posts and collected 50 magazines and books for the enrollees. Our weekly meeting was a great success, as almost everyone was interested in the CCC-ID program.

A. L. Draper, Group Foreman.

(Chin Lee) The enrollees working on these two projects have been repairing the buildings in camp here. They have also fixed up an office that is to be used as a camp office and warehouse office. They have had instruction in safety, first-aid, and in carpentry work, as several shelves and book-racks were made for use in the recreation hall. For recreation, the enrollees played Chinese checkers, monopoly and basket ball. Due to the fact that snow was on the ground, basket ball practice had to be called off for several days this week. Stanley R. Thomas, Sr. Sub Foreman.

Truck Trail Maintenance At Mescalero (New Mexico) The machines are working on the finishing up of the truck trail as a whole. There are still some fills and small cuts to be made on the lower end of the trail. The culvert headwalls are all put in up to the fills that are still being built. The ditches are still to be run on most of the trail where the machines are filling and cutting.

We have had a big crew on subjugation work during the past week doing maintenance work on the ditches, such as cleaning up for better drainage and better water service. The storms we have been having necessitated this work as much debris was carried into the ditches.

The basket ball team still holds its first place in the league, even though it was defeated by one of the poorer teams this week. This defeat was probably caused by the attendance of too many beautiful Southern New Mexico girls. The boys just could not play and look at the sidelines too. James M. Cox.

Landscaping At Pipestone (Minnesota). Project 135: During the past week they have continued to cut and prune the trees. G. R. Brown.

